

Clinton's latest failure compounds US follies

WELL, then, it would seem both the United States and its leader are ruled by dicks (Clinton takes flight to his accusers, February 1). The latest revelations of Bill Clinton's infidelity push all the wrong buttons. If ever a president deserved a medal for opportunistic looting, it is Clinton.

I nominate him on three recent counts:

- 1) Failure at Kyoto to own up to the economic rape and pillage not only of nations but of the environment as well. Rather than atone as a beseeching among nations as it might, the US remains intransigently rooted in greed.
- 2) Failure to support the Indonesian army and the security forces to ask for special treatment to do so.
- 3) Permitting Binaymo Nanyawatu to derail the Middle East peace process last year, claiming "it's a problem that must be settled by the participants", then executing a U-turn resulting in the Israeli prime minister being sent next to the president in the White House recently.

Being an American these days is a schizophrenic job, splitting my emotions between awe and admiration for a political system unparalleled in its offering of rights and freedoms, and utter shame and disgust at the venal liberality of those who make a gutter of their institutions.

Erie Stewart,
Kokoihi, Japan

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100 die in Kenya clashes

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Briefly

GIVEN the Arab League's decision to intervene within the interests of the Arab nations, a strong response, in a way that would not be construed as a valiant attempt to mediate the war between fundamentalism and secularism in Algeria?

The cruelty with which most of the 75,000 people have been massacred before the past six years' deaths, shouldn't the League's preoccupation with Israel be shelved until this horrific spilling of Arab blood is brought to an end?

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'Poets detained' in China crackdown

Andrew Higgins in Hong Kong

A COTRIER of amateur poets has been detained by police in southwestern China, a Hong Kong-based dissident group said last weekend. The reported crackdown follows a flurry of activity in recent weeks by China's fragmented and previously dormant dissident movement.

The detained writers were planning to launch an independent journal to promote a renaissance of a literary scene stifled by censorship and censored by the raw conservatism of China's capitalist-style markets.

Authorities made no comment on the reported detentions in Guizhou province, one of China's poorest regions but known for its relatively bold publishing industry.

Beijing instead concentrated on another new United States human rights survey. "Only the concern by the American side about China's human rights question is only an excuse, the true intent of which is to interfere in China's internal affairs," the official Xinhua news agency quoted a foreign ministry spokesman as saying.

The US state department survey is far milder in its criticism than in the past. While complaining of serious abuses, it reported some progress, a judgment influenced as much by improved Sino-US relations as by small signs of greater tolerance. President Jiang Zemin visited Washington last November and is expected to receive President Bill Clinton as early as April.

The Information Centre of Human Rights and Democratic Movement, a small Hong Kong group with a mixed record for accuracy, named the detained poets as Wu Ruohai, Xiong Juren, Ma Zhe

and Ma Qiang. It said they were picked up last week. Mr Wu is said to have been previously jailed for three years for involvement in democracy protests in 1989.

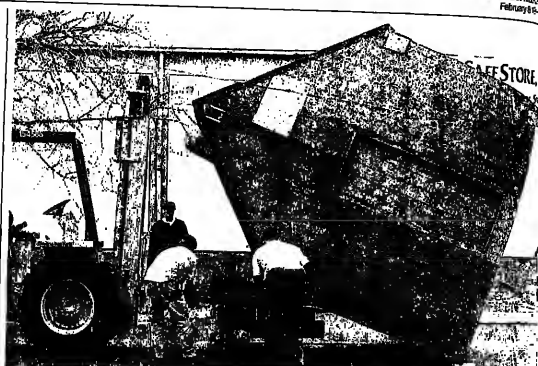
The Hong Kong group also reported that authorities had paroled veteran dissident Zhang Xiaoxu, an engineer sentenced to 15 years for his role in the 1989 protests. Authorities in the coastal city of Qingdao freed Mr Zhang in gratitude for "a deed of major merit" — repairing the prison's telephone system.

China's tiny dissident community has been emboldened in recent years by a series of calls for greater openness, some from within the Communist Party itself. Hu Jiewu, a former editor of the People's Daily, published an article in Hong Kong criticizing what he called a "pair-archival feudal" system of power. Li Ruihan, the most liberal member of the politburo, has also spoken up.

In an attempt to deplete any revived dissident movement and also relieve foreign criticism, Beijing sent the country's best-known democracy activist, Wei Jingsheng, into exile in the US last year. Chinese leaders worry that sparks of criticism could ignite unrest among a growing army of unemployed workers.

John Gittings adds: China has adopted a law allowing execution by lethal injection. Amnesty International said in a report last week. At least 24 lethal injections were noted in the Chinese press last year, but not all are reported.

Amnesty argues that lethal injection — which does not damage organs — may be preferred because it facilitates transplants. Because it is a simple procedure it may also encourage wider application of the death penalty.



Workers unload the Unabomber's one-roomed shack on its arrival in California after its long journey from the forests of Montana. Theodore Kaczynski's residence in it was to have been used as evidence in his disturbed mental state but his plea bargain meant that no trial took place. PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

France embarks on risky shutdown of reactor

Paul Webster in Paris

THE French government's decision on Monday to dismantle the \$9.8 billion Superphénix fast-breeder power plant at Creys-Malleville, near the Swiss border, could lead to one of the century's most dangerous nuclear projects of the century.

The closure of the 1,240 megawatt reactor, which has produced only six months of electricity in 12 years of operation, is considered potentially more dangerous than its construction because it was drawn up to take it out of service.

The Green movement had demanded the plant's dismantling as a condition of its joining the leftwing government coalition in June. But

the Green leader and environment minister, Dominique Voynet, said she was shocked to discover that no contingency programme existed to shut down a reactor containing five tonnes of plutonium and 5,000 tonnes of volatile radioactive liquid sodium.

The Superphénix, which was intended to produce more than 10 times as much electricity as it consumed, will take at least 10 years to dismantle. The economy minister, Dominique Strauss-Kahn, said after a ministerial meeting that the project would begin in 2008 and would cost 108 billion francs (\$18 billion) to complete.

At the same meeting, ministers decided to restart an older, smaller Phénix fast reactor, to give France's Atomic Energy Commission the

chance to carry on research in radioactive waste management. They also agreed to allocate 500 million francs for research into renewable energies.

British, American and Russian scientists, who have been involved in running down small fast-breeder plants, will be asked for advice at the Superphénix.

While the French state electricity service claims important lessons have been learnt from the past plant, Superphénix is widely seen as the worst engineering setback in France's nuclear history.

Hurriedly designed during the 1970s oil crisis, it suffered repeated breakdowns and was rarely connected to the national grid for more than a few weeks at a time.

Belgian police 'incompetent'

Stephen Bates in Brussels

THE Belgian paedophile ring uncovered 18 months ago escaped detection for so long because of endemic police incompetence, a parliamentary report says.

The report, leaked to a Belgian news agency before its official presentation to parliament next week, scathingly criticised the police, led by Marc Dutroux, a builder from Charleroi, must have contacts. It blames low-level corruption and the chaotic police investigation for the time taken to uncover and break up the gang.

The finding was criticised by Gino Russo, whose eight-year-old daughter Melissa was kidnapped in 1996 and left to starve to death in a cellar at Dutroux's house. The bodies of Melissa and her best friend, Julie Lejeune, also aged eight, were found buried in Dutroux's garden in August 1996.

Russo said: "I don't believe the report's conclusions... If the gang didn't have protection that makes it 100 times worse." The leak had been orchestrated to prepare Belgians for his findings before publication — and also to protect those in authority, he claimed.

The parliamentary inquiry had been set up to investigate whether

the paedophiles had received high-level protection. Its report found no evidence of that, but it expects claims of the police search for Julie and Melissa made in a parliamentary report last year, for which it blames low-level corruption.

At the time of the kidnappings, officers had Dutroux's house under surveillance and searched it three times while the girls were still alive. Police received up-to-date details of activities of Dutroux, a convicted sex offender, two years before the girls were kidnapped, but did nothing. Rival police forces refused to share information and, at least once, tried to mislead colleagues.

So incompetent was the investigation that many Belgians, shocked by the corruption of the system and familiar with the discredited workings of the establishment, were convinced that Dutroux, who is awaiting trial, must have enjoyed protection.

The Belgian newspaper *Le Soir* said on Monday: "It is serious and insupportable. And perhaps it is even more serious that Dutroux did not have protection by an identified personality. That would have been a cynic which could have been cut off fairly easily, but this is a case which has to be treated carefully, and who knows whether the illness is malignant and perhaps incurable."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
February 6 1998

War crimes that the world ignores

COMMENT
Victoria Brittain

A NOTHER old man is to be put on trial for war crimes committed in Europe 50 years ago, and Austria, like France, Italy, Poland and the United States — will have a new name through which to relieve history.

Last week Italians said they wanted to extradite Wilhelm Schabert, aged 83, from Austria. They believe he, like Erich Priebke, was involved in the slaughter of 335 civilians in the Ardeatine caves in 1944. Maurice Paprotti's trial in France, the longest-running saga of them

all, is set to run until March at astronomical cost.

And the US last week stripped Bradshaw Hagle, aged 73, of his citizenship after he was indicted for having taken part in a massacre of up to 700 prisoners in 1945.

Such commitment of time and money to old war crimes in Europe, and the lack of interest in recent, even current, war crimes in Africa is hypocritical.

Last month the Angolan air force intercepted a South African cargo plane carrying building materials and generators to UNITA-occupied areas of Angola. The German pilot, Peter Blitzer, admitted that he had flown to numerous places in Angola

with weapons for the UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi, in the last two years. Savimbi has decades of war crimes under his belt and should have been indicted years ago in stead of being made respectable by the international community — notably the United Nations and the US.

Since losing the 1994 election, Savimbi has weakened more havoc than South Africa did in 15 years of clandestine war. The CIA spent millions of dollars over 20 years trying to crush Angola's MPLA government. No one will ever be brought to book for these war crimes.

Even worse is the current situation in Rwanda, where those responsible for the genocide of a million people in 1994 are again organising the killings of civilians and soldiers — 270 in one recent attack. Indemnity truces are circulating in the northeast of the country, inciting the majority Hutu population to rise up and start killing again.

The words fall on fertile ground in the northeast. Many soldiers recruited there by the former president, Juvenal Habyarimana, later led the genocide. They then fought for Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire (now Congo), and are currently heading cross-border raids into Rwanda from Congo, or linking with the Hutu groups destabilising neighbouring Burundi.

More than a million Rwandan refugees have returned from camps in Congo and Tanzania where they spent two years under the protection of humanitarian agencies while their leaders planned another genocide. The networks that ran those camps under the nose of the UN are now trying to reassert their control.

Rwanda has been badly served by the international community: the UN tribunal in Arusha is feeble and no trial has been concluded; both Belgium and France helped create the conditions for the genocide.

Outlanders owe Rwanda the resources to rebuild its own judicial process so that the 120,000 people in prison can be swiftly dealt with and the cycle of impunity broken. Money would be better spent on this than on elderly European war criminals who can no longer do anyone any harm.

Brussels risks war with Kohl

Martin Walker in Brussels

NAN ACT of estimated defiance against Germany, competition officials from Brussels were expected to begin price-fixing investigations against Mercedes and Opel this week. Volkswagen has just been hit with a \$114-million fine after a similar inquiry.

The move follows a decision by the European Commission to call in a German television and telecoms merger for "deeper investigation", despite Chancellor Helmut Kohl's personal demand that it be approved.

"There will be war between the Commission and Germany," Mr Kohl told the Commission president, Jacques Santer, in a phone call last month, the German news weekly Focus reports.

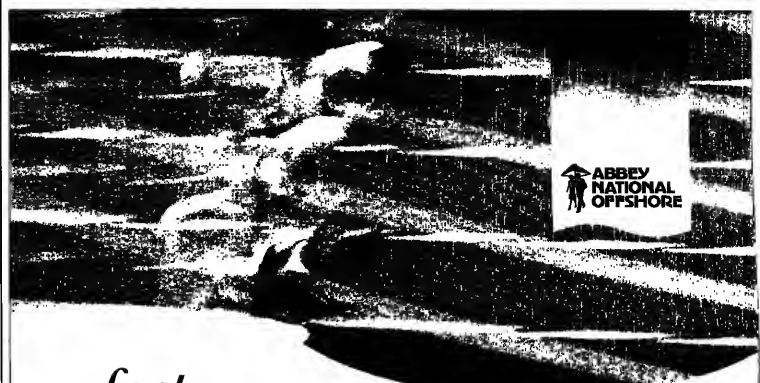
Mr Kohl has taken a personal interest in the blocked scheme by Deutsche Telekom and two German media giants, Bertelsmann and Kirch, to set up with Austria and Switzerland what they plan to be Europe's main digital pay-television network.

At almost every turn he finds himself running into the kind of trouble with Europe that used to be a British speciality. Even when Germany said it wanted export excluded from the tough Brussels central regulations, the Belgian socialist commissioner Karel Van Miert insisted the rules must be followed.

There is worse to come. The Commission is planning action against Mercedes and Opel for reportedly discouraging non-union distributors from selling cars more cheaply to German customers who travel in search of bargains.

"What you are really seeing is German reality in a way. It shows Germany becoming a normal country, using the Commission as a scapegoat just like other member states have done," suggests one Commission official.

"Unification and the passing of the war-time generation means Germans feel less need always to be the great guy of Europe." As the merger closes competition rules, Mr Van Miert has become the main target of German wrath. But his office has the resources to fend off German claims of bias. Year after year, they have blocked more state aid in France or Italy.



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Clinton recovers from flesh wound



Washington diary

Martin Kettle

IN THE first 72 hours after the United States media finally dared to print the allegations about Monica Lewinsky, many of them had known about for weeks, plenty of people in the White House were convinced that their time was up. Talk of the Clinton presidency in freefall was quick and common-place, and extended high into the administration, as the charges mounted and the poll ratings went into instant double-digit slump. No one was in any doubt that this was easily the gravest crisis that Clinton had ever faced. One White House aide called it "world war three".

In the White House, the only objective was survival, and no one could say with confidence that the objective was achievable. When, Clinton, after a rocky and argumentative weekend at the White House with his advisers, finally went before the cameras on Monday last week to deny all the charges, he looked drained, close to breaking point and even near to tears. And when Hillary Clinton spoke the next morning of a vast rightwing conspiracy, she too gave voice to the fact

that this was a battle for the very existence of the presidency.

And yet, less than a week later, the Clinton presidency is approved of by more Americans than at any other time in its roller-coaster history. Ten days after the start of a crisis that many believed would end with Clinton being dragged out of the White House in disgrace, seven out of 10 people think he is doing his job well and less than 20 per cent of Americans take Lewinsky's word against the president's. Amazingly, Clinton has benefited from the crisis that had once seemed certain to wound him, possibly fatally, in the White House the true believers say he has not only survived; he has triumphed.

Clinton is not out of the woods yet. The public opinion that de-seated him one week and flocked back to him the next can change just as easily a third time. By absolutely denying — as he ultimately did — the allegations that he had a sexual affair with Lewinsky and then tried to get her to lie about it, Bill and Hillary embarked on a high-stakes, double-or-quits game. A piece of evidence, accepted in court and believed by those around him, could possibly still sink Clinton and force him into resignation. And yet even that is by no means certain.

The official "on message" explanation of the president's recovery is that Americans responded both to the attack of first-hand last week and to the voter-friendly package that Clinton unveiled in his State of the Union message. Yet, while it is true that both these events went well for Clinton, it would be a mistake to swallow this conveniently high-minded version of events uncritically. The polls show relatively little movement in the public's propensity to believe Clinton's version of events, and although this must have been the most hyped and



tension-driven State of the Union speech in memory many fewer television viewers bothered to watch it than watched Clinton's 1993 address. The deeper reality is that Clinton decided that they wanted their president to survive. There was an indication of the changed mood facing Clinton's accusers on Friday last week, the 10th day of the crisis, when Lewinsky's friend and confidante, Linda Tripp, the Pentagon aide whose secret taping of aspects of Lewinsky's character, and by the gradual discrediting of the strength of Clinton's political recovery and by the gradual discrediting of Tripp's role in the scandal.

And yet, while Tripp's statement was widely reported, it made strikingly little impact. Within those 10 days something had changed. Part of it, as Tripp clearly sensed, was that Lewinsky's credibility was under fire. Video clips of tense, cautious public encounters with Clinton seemed to show her as the stalker not the president's prey. Other damaging pieces of character evidence, of which the most impor-

tant was the revelation that she had bedded her drama teacher for five years even while she was engaged with Clinton, mounted against her. The significant shift was that in some unquantifiable but perceptible way the American people decided they didn't matter enough for Clinton to leave to go. They may not have voted for Clinton. They may not greatly admire his character. But they do know what the president and she know that they want a president that is not so vulnerable to an instant national inquiry as this one became. That is why they have led round Clinton, and it is why what was nearly a private catastrophe has become, to universal surprise and with unforeseen consequences, almost a public apothecary.

Hugo Young, page 12
Washington Post, page 16

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
February 8 1998

Shell re-uses Brent Spar platform

Paul Brown

BRENT Spar, the giant disused oil storage platform that became a battleground for environmentalists, is to be cut up and found new life as a quayside for ferries on the Norwegian coast.

Shell announced the solution last week, more than two years after Greenpeace stirred up European public opinion to such a pitch that the oil company was forced to abandon its plan to sink the unwanted vessel in the Atlantic.

The 14,500 tonne, 130m high Brent Spar will be sliced into six sections in Erfjord, the Norwegian fjord where it has remained anchored since the controversial dump was abandoned in June 1995. The accommodation platform will be scrapped on land but each section will be towed to barges to Melsjøfjord, near Stavanger, where they will be filled with rubble and a concrete platform put over the top. This will be used as a roll-on, roll-off ferry terminal.

The decision has cost Shell around \$70 million, compared

with the original cost of £4.5 million to dump the structure, and changed the way that oil companies view the disposal of the hundreds of off-shore installations due to be decommissioned.

For Greenpeace it represents a victory since re-use is better than recycling and both are better than dumping.

Shell was still keen to emphasise that the Brent Spar was a one-off accident and it had not abandoned sea-dumping of other installations.

More than 200 ideas were suggested for solving the problem of the Brent Spar. These included using it as a casino, a hotel and a fish farm. They were narrowed down to four options, which included some defence in Norfolk, total scrapping on land for the steel, which was the most expensive at \$78 million, and the proposal to use it as the base for a new port quay. This will cost \$35 million.

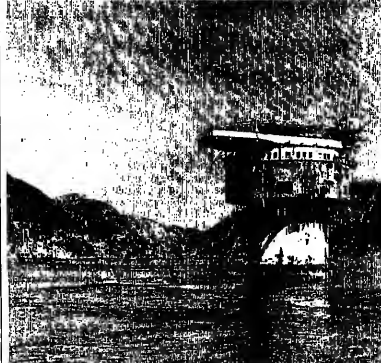
In environmental terms the schemes had little to choose between them. Even sea-dumping of a clean structure was not seriously damaging. What saving Shell to the quayside idea was

that re-use meant a massive saving in energy compared with building the port from scratch with new steel. In fact Melsjøfjord is the real winner since it will be acquiring far higher quality steel than it could afford to buy and save itself \$800,000 on the cost of the port at the same time.

For Shell it is an acceptable end to an expensive saga. The oil storage buoy installed in the Brent field in 1976 had been disassembled since 1991. The dumping at sea option was licensed in February 1994, but in April 1995 Greenpeace occupied the platform and a long battle began.

By June a number of European governments were protesting at the dumping and 60 Shell service stations were damaged in Germany — two fire-bombed and one raked with bullets. Shell abandoned the dumping but the irritation of the British government.

Greenpeace did not emerge unscathed either. In September it apologised for its inaccurate claim that there were 5,500 tonnes of contaminated oil on Brent Spar. Both sides were still not friends last week as Shell



Brent Spar, towed in Norway. It will become a ferry terminal

made nine points on which Greenpeace had been "wrong" about the company and the Brent Spar.

Chris Rose, campaign director for Greenpeace, said it had

taken two years for the company to accept what the public had told it in 1995. "Shell should accept dumping at sea is wrong in principle and unnecessary in practice," he said.

Kurds risk all for good life across the border

Chris Morris in Edirne, Turkey

Huddled together against a bitter wind, 72 Iraqi Kurds wait patiently to be released so that they can try again. "We were planning to stay across," said one of the men standing outside a police station near the Greek border. "But they found us first."

A border patrol found the Kurds on the banks of the Meriç river, three had drowned. Several weeks after leaving their homes, they were tonight on the front line of the European Union. It would be foolish not to try again.

Most of the would-be migrants are young men, fed up with the constant threat of warfare in their homeland. Many come from the town of Sulaymaniyah, headquarters of one of the two rival Kurdish factions that have battled for control of northern Iraq since the end of the Gulf war. Two of the three children travelling with a woman in the river. Her house in Baghdad had been destroyed by Allied bombing and she was desperate to join her brother in Germany.

After crossing the Anatolian plain on foot, the group fell prey to smugglers who work out of cheap hotels and telephone offices in Istanbul, offering the chance of a one-way ticket to Europe.

"They brought us in a lorry to a dirt track near the border, then we had to walk to the river in the night and try to get to Greece," said Mahab. "We paid them about \$300 each. After that it was up to us."

The Kurds are fined the equivalent of \$50 and told to go home. But most still turn straight back to the border.

But these Kurds are at the bottom of the trade in smuggling people. The 85,000 small boats which carry a passenger across the sea to the Greek islands just off the Turkish coast. From there, false docu-

ments are supplied for passage by ferry to Italy.

More than 20,000 people were caught trying to leave Turkey illegally last year. "We catch people every day," said Omer Tuzel, the police chief in Edirne. "Sometimes we see the same people time after time. It's a constant battle."

Most of the recent migrants have been Kurds from Iraq or Turkey, but people from as far as Bangladesh and Kenya have been drawn to the Istanbul underground, only to emerge blinking into the light from container crates or the engine rooms of rusty oil tankers. For every one captured, another slips through the net.

The Turkish authorities have recently stepped up efforts to stem the flow, stung by accusations from Europe of political persecution and poor border security.

"It's just a game," said the owner of a hotel ruled by police. "In the past, the police have taken money from the smugglers to turn a blind eye. It has been a good business. While Turkey accuses Europe of hypocrisy in its treatment of migrants, it fails to acknowledge its own blind-spot. The war in the south-east between the Turkish security forces and the Kurdish rebel movement, the PKK, has generated its own refugee pressure. About 500,000 Turkish Kurds have fled burnt-out villages to the grim new suburbs of Istanbul in the past decade.

As rain begins to fall and the Eastern Kurds slump their feet against the cold, 45 exhausted people are caught at the other end of the country after crossing into Turkey from the Iraqi mountains. They had each paid a smuggler \$500, but still walked for seven days. Many had frostbite.

Europe can be sure that many more are on the way. "We'll keep trying until we get there," said Mahab. "All we want is a place to live."

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Fledgling euro seeks to pile on the pounds



Europe this week

Martin Walker

THE DEDUCTIVE talents of a Sherlock Holmes are not required to understand why three European officials returned last week to pick over the bones of an issue already supposed to have been settled. Britain is not joining the new single currency in the first wave, nor for the life of the current UK parliament, but will sign up as soon as the option gives its assent after that. Like it or not, that is the Government's position.

Last week what looked like a concerted campaign to re-open the argument, warning that Britain's hopes of influencing the future of Europe and its status in the Group of Seven and other important international bodies are at risk unless it joins the single currency soon. The European Commission president, Jacques Santer, and British Conservative Sir Leon Brittan visited London to deliver separate warnings that the UK risked missing the boat. But the most portentous threat came, characteristically, from the French monetary commissioner, Yves-Thibault de Silguy.

Mr de Silguy's warning came in an exchange with MEPs in the European Parliament, where he said: "There is no need to change the statutes of the International Monetary Fund to chase out all EU member states and international European Union." But the G7 was different, he went on, and that was where "the real decisions are made".

"I would not like these decisions to be made by a limited number of member states on behalf of the European Union," he said. "Personally, I think that would be unacceptable." French and, to a lesser extent,

German officials have for some months been saying in private that G7 should be replaced by a new G8, bringing together the custodians of the dollar, the yen and the euro as the real masters of the financial universe. Being sidelined from the top global club would be a humiliating prospect for Britain.

The motives behind this new campaign are simply discerned. The Europeans are coming to the conclusion that the euro could be an uncomfortable weak currency, and the current health and soundness of the British economy would bring a useful strength. There are two reasons for this. The first is Italy. The political determination of Europe's leaders to engineer a smooth launch of all 11 would-be members into the new single currency was joined last week when Italy was told it could not count proceeds from internal debt sales in its frantic efforts to cut its budget deficit.

Europe's statistical service of the EU, rated that the "sale" of gold from one arm of the Italian state banking system to another, and the consequent tax revenues, were an internal transaction which does not reduce the state deficit. The amount involved is a tiny 0.15 per cent of Italy's gross domestic prod-

uct. But it was sufficient to raise Italy's estimated budget deficit to within an ace of the 3 per cent deficit threshold. More ominously, it drew attention again to the various other plays Italy has devised to meet the criteria to join the euro.

They include a special one-off euro-tax, which raised more than \$3 billion with the promise that most of it would be returned to taxpayers later. These companies had to pay severance taxes in advance of workers who were retiring, and another \$5.6 billion was saved on severance pay by blocking all early retirement from the public sector for a year. These heroic efforts managed the budget deficit down by some \$2 billion to less than 3 per cent. But there have been sharp warnings from the markets that they do not see Italy's budget cuts as sustainable.

Moreover, neither the cuts nor the plays have succeeded in reducing Italy's huge national debt, which at 122 per cent of GDP is more than double the target set by the Maastricht treaty for countries wanting to join the single currency. Some economists, such as Oxford's Professor Walter Bitts, are warning that by launching a political crisis with Italy this year, Europe is simply putting off an economic crisis for the euro until the markets speculate against the lira next year.

British pharmaceutical firms agree \$160 billion merger

Sarah Ryle and Paul Farrelly

AN AUDACIOUS plan to create the largest drugs company in the world was announced last week. The proposed merger between Britain's two largest pharmaceutical groups, Glaxo Wellcome and SmithKline Beecham, would create a company worth almost \$160 billion.

The move came less than two weeks after news that SmithKline was to join forces with American Home Products. That plan has now been abandoned.

Stock markets on both sides of the Atlantic soared in response to the proposed merger. In New York on Monday the Dow Jones industrial index closed 201 up at 8107.

Globalisation in need of repairs

Larry Elliott in Davos

LIKE a new car that unexpectedly develops life-threatening faults, the 1997 model of globalisation has been recalled by the makers. The havoc wreaked in the East Asian by the crisis of the past nine months has led to a significant change of heart. At Davos last week, the talk was not whether free market fundamentalism should be reined in, but how.

Up in the Swiss Alps it was almost impossible to find anybody who professed to be a true believer in undisturbed laissez-faire. As one critic of globalisation put it, if there were of the universe are worried, something must have gone seriously wrong. Something has.

The corporate elite sat in stony silence as John Sweeney, president of the United States trade union movement, let rip. Asked whether labour had a role in the new world order, he replied: "Let us be clear: if labour has no role, democracy has no future."

"Social justice does not compromise the future of the model. It is essential to its survival. If this global economy cannot be made to work for working people, it will reap a reaction that may make the 20th century tranquil by comparison."

This global system broadcasts stark contrasts — of untold wealth for the few and growing insecurity for the many; of laws that protect property and expose people of colour; of capital and repressed workers. The inequities are undeniable ethically but they are also unsustainable economically."

It was glorious stuff, made all the better because it is now clear, even to the world's business elite, that globalisation does not just mean surfing the Net and lemming production, but unemployment, poverty, crime and social exclusion.

Bob Kuttner, editor of American Prospect, put it another way. There is no longer just a fault line between those who believe in laissez-faire and those who believe in a mixed economy; there is also one between those that all business people need to make it work properly is a minimal safety-net and those who argue direct action is needed to slow the economic juggernaut.

Some people, of course, feel that any attempt to reform the current system is doomed. A coalition of sorts has emerged between those

after one of the strongest days of trading in the history of Wall Street. London's Stock Exchange climbed to an all-time high for the fourth time in as many days, with the FTSE 100 index finishing 140 up at just under 5600.

The two companies have agreed that if the deal goes ahead, current Glaxo Wellcome shareholders will end up with 59.5 per cent of the new giant, the remainder going to SmithKline Beecham shareholders.

The talks between the two sides started late last month — Glaxo making the initial approach. The deal represents a coup for Glaxo Wellcome's chief executive, Sir Richard Sykes. Bidding sources say Sykes placed a call to his opposite number, Jan

Leschly, two days after SmithKline confirmed the talks with AHP.

The combined mega-group would have 7 per cent of the global drugs market — putting it way out in front of rivals Merck of the United States and Novartis of Switzerland. The new combine's research budget will be \$8 billion — twice the size of its nearest rival.

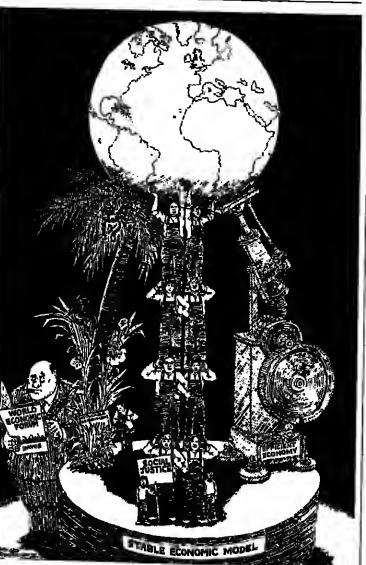
The companies have strengths in complementary areas. SmithKline is strong in vaccines, anti-depressants and over-the-counter treatments. Glaxo's strengths include asthma treatments. But there are overlaps in cancer-related treatments and anti-viral drugs.

This will fuel speculation that the companies will seek cost savings of

up to \$1.5 billion a year by ironing out the overlap — especially as both businesses have headquarters in the UK. Up to 10,000 research and development jobs in Britain are at risk. But the companies' global workforce of 106,000, especially its 30,000 US employees, may also be affected by the merger.

The size of the deal will mean close investigation by the regulatory authorities in the UK and Europe — but SmithKline Beecham is understood to be confident of "an enormous will" to get the merger through.

One adviser commented: "This deal will translate into the worst nightmare for all other competitors around the world." — *The Observer*



IMF faces crisis shake-up

Alex Brummer and Larry Elliott

RADICAL changes in the operations of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank are to be proposed by finance ministers at a meeting in London later this month in response to the Asian crisis.

The plans for adjusting the role of the IMF and the World Bank, to put them in tune with globalised and globalised world, will be discussed at Lancaster House in London, on February 21 and could form the core of the agenda for the Birmingham summit, to be chaired by Tony Blair in May.

Officials preparing for the first Group of Seven meeting under the chairmanship of Gordon Brown, the Chancellor, have dubbed the ideas "Halifax II", a reference to the changes in the structures of the international financial institutions put in place in Halifax, Nova Scotia, after the economic meltdown in Mexico at the end of 1994.

The following changes are being proposed:

- Tightening data requirements for member countries so there is clearer up-to-date information on capital market positions;
- An improved communications mechanism for the IMF which will allow it to voice concerns and influence policy in a more powerful way;
- Updating the IMF's mandate so that its role in resolving problems in the capital markets and banking runs alongside sorting out balance of payments imbalances;
- Developing greater expertise at the IMF and World Bank in the workings and operations of banking core of the Asian problem;
- Making use of the World Bank's guarantee powers in capital market crises. This might provide an alternative to global banks pulling out credits and hastening the financial collapse.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Starting rates February 8	Starting rates January 8
Australia	2.3865-2.3900	2.4744-2.4800
Belgium	23.07-23.08	23.04-23.05
Canada	61.48-61.58	61.48-61.58
Denmark	2.0962-2.0970	2.0915-2.0925
France	11.26-11.36	11.20-11.30
Germany	9.888-9.908	9.851-9.871
Italy	1.975-1.985	1.975-1.985
Japan	1.1872-1.1900	1.1782-1.1812
Netherlands	2.1034-2.1054	2.1034-2.1054
New Zealand	2.7052-2.7100	2.6932-2.6980
Portugal	2.0962-2.0970	2.0915-2.0925
Spain	16.25-16.35	16.25-16.35
Sweden	2.0962-2.0970	2.0915-2.0925
Switzerland	2.4147-2.4177	2.4085-2.4115
UK	1.1112-1.1122	1.1047-1.1057
US	1.1112-1.1122	1.1047-1.1057

FX: 0200-0100 hours on 012 at 0000, FX on 012 at 0000, FX on 012 at 0000, FX on 012 at 0000

In Brief

THREE world-leading cigarette makers — BAT, Philip Morris and RJR Nabors Holdings — are the subject of a criminal investigation by the US justice department. Federal investigators are trying to determine if the companies colluded on the price of tobacco leaf.

BRITISH AIRWAYS announced its no-frills airline, Go, based at Stansted, will fly to European destinations, using 144-seater Boeing 737 aircraft. The cheap offshoot has received an injection of \$80 million from the parent company.

BOEING, the world's biggest aircraft maker, reported its first annual losses since 1959 last year — \$178 million. This follows a series of production problems and charges connected with its \$16.3 billion takeover of rival McDonnell Douglas last summer.

RECORD \$860,000 for a serious failure linked to London risk-selling has been imposed on insurance company and Manchester Assurance by the Personal Investment Authority, the City watchdog.

FEARS that Britain is heading for recession this year grew as evidence emerged that the economy is contracting and the pressure of falling consumer confidence, a halving of the deficit and the effects of the Asian crisis.

THE UK government is planning the biggest shake-up of company law for 50 years in an attempt to give employees and consumers a bigger say in the running of firms. The fundamental review will include introduction of a minimum wage and limits on working time, together with a wide-ranging review of business law leading to a new Companies Act.

POTENTIAL bidders for

Energy Group, owner of Eastern Electricity, are preparing for a three-way takeover bid. Nomura International, Teas Utilities and Pacificorp are believed to be preparing offers.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Starting rates February 8	Starting rates January 8
Australia	2.3865-2.3900	2.4744-2.4800
Belgium	23.07-23.08	23.04-23.05
Canada	61.48-61.58	61.48-61.58
Denmark	2.0962-2.0970	2.0915-2.0925
France	11.26-11.36	11.20-11.30
Germany	9.888-9.908	9.851-9.871
Italy	1.975-1.985	1.975-1.985
Japan	1.1872-1.1900	1.1782-1.1812
Netherlands	2.1034-2.1054	2.1034-2.1054
New Zealand	2.7052-2.7100	2.6932-2.6980
Portugal	2.0962-2.0970	2.0915-2.0925
Spain	16.25-16.35	16.25-16.35
Sweden	2.0962-2.0970	2.0915-2.0925
Switzerland	2.4147-2.4177	2.4085-2.4115
UK	1.1112-1.1122	1.1047-1.1057
US	1.1112-1.1122	1.1047-1.1057

FX: 0200-0100 hours on 012 at 0000, FX on 012 at 0000, FX on 012 at 0000, FX on 012 at 0000

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
February 8 1998

The Washington Post



A woman receives a hug after answering police questions about the bombing

Bomb at Abortion Clinic Kills Guard

Donald P. Baker in Birmingham

A BOMB so powerful it shattered glass a block away exploded outside a Birmingham Alabama abortion clinic last week, killing an off-duty policeman moonlighting as a security guard and seriously injuring a woman on her way to work.

Officials said it was the first fatal bombing of an abortion clinic since violence at clinics began to be recorded more than 15 years ago. The blast occurred one week after the 25th anniversary of the Roe vs. Wade Supreme Court decision that cleared the way for legal abortion in the United States.

President Clinton swiftly condemned the bombing, calling it "an

unforgivable act that strikes at the heart of the constitutional freedoms and individual liberties all Americans hold dear" and pointing out that the legislation makes it a federal crime to interfere with a woman exercising her right to visit an abortion clinic.

Randy Tate, executive director of the anti-abortion Christian Coalition, joined in the condemnation, calling it a "repulsive act of violence."

No one claimed responsibility for the attack, which occurred at 7:35 a.m., before the clinic had opened, and no warning was given, according to Birmingham Police Chief Mike Coppage.

Anti-abortion protesters marched here last month, but police said the

demonstrations were peaceful. Nevertheless, tensions have been high on the abortion issue in Alabama over efforts in the state legislature to ban certain late-term abortions called partial-birth abortions. Alabama is one of 19 states where lawmakers have sought such bans.

The clinic bombed, the New Women's All Women Health Care Center, is among four Alabama abortion centers that tried through lawsuits to block the state government from carrying out new state laws that would place limits on some late-term abortions. A request from the clinics that the laws be suspended until the legal cases are settled was turned down last week by a federal judge in Montgomery, the state capital.

These so-called "wrecking emperors" can dictate a private bank's hours of operation, threaten an annoying politician with a tax audit and slice away 10 percent of another agency's budget on a mere whim. Despite small government salaries and apartments, many of these bureaucrats are able to live lavishly, thanks to extravagant dinners, overseas trips and gifts from private companies.

Goichi Kato, one of the most influential politicians in Japan, said that in the future, "we will look back at this time as a watershed when fundamental change took place between Japanese bureaucracy and private sectors."

One of the arrested bureaucrats is said to have demanded not only that banks take him to an expensive eatery in exchange for the confidential government information he had overnight he offered, but also that it be a favorite haunt — a restaurant where the waitresses wear no underpants.

That establishment in the Shikoku section of Tokyo, where the menu lists the hearty favorite called shabu-shabu and the attraction is "no pants" eatery, is fast gaining notoriety at the expense of the elite ministry.

It was also reported last week that bank inspectors who could have uncovered irregularities in

Bribery Crackdown Spurred by Scandal

Mary Jordan and Kevin Sullivan in Tokyo

LAST WEEK the top two Japanese companies in the Ministry of Finance were implicated in a corruption scandal, two others were arrested, and one committed suicide before he was to be questioned by prosecutors about subordinates.

The scandal is still unfolding, but it appears that Japan is in the midst of the most serious effort in 50 years to curb the common business practice here of bribing government officials.

The latest casualty, the resignation under pressure of the Finance Ministry's top career bureaucrat, is viewed as a signal that the crackdown, as one analyst said, "is not simply firing warning shots at the feet of government, but going for its heart."

"This will have political fallout because it is the first major corruption raid of the Ministry of Finance, which since World War II has become the most powerful bureaucracy in Japan," said political consultant Takayoshi Miyagawa. "That ministry controls life money, and therefore the government, and therefore the nation."

The two finance officials arrested were not high-ranking, and the resignation of Finance Minister Hiroshi Miura, a political appointee, was almost ritualistic, because the head of an organization is almost always expected to take the fall for the wrongdoing of those he supervises.

But the resignation of senior bureaucrat Takeshi Komura means the scandal has climbed one of the "untouchables," the elite career bureaucrats who hold the most power.

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It was also reported last week that bank inspectors who could have uncovered irregularities in

1994 at the Daiwa Bank branch in New York, where a trader lost an astonishing \$1 billion, were entertained handsomely by Daiwa. The inspectors then flew to Las Vegas for a good time — at taxpayer expense.

Komura's resignation — apparently forced by Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto — comes as disillusionment with the ministry is ballooning. The ministry is being blamed for many of Japan's economic problems and its inability to solve them.

Some newspapers said the scandal marks "the beginning of the end of the powerful ministry's long reign over government." One headline blared: "Sunset for MOF," as the Finance Ministry is called.

While voters can turn a politician out of office, they have little say about the tenure of a bureaucrat. But many now are calling for new laws along the lines of those that govern U.S. officials, who are reported here to be able to lawfully accept gifts valued at less than \$20 and "doughnuts with their coffee."

Not overseas trips and a \$40,000 discount on a home, as Japanese public servants are charged with taking.

Many people are also reviving calls for the Finance Ministry to be broken up to diffuse its power, and for elected officials to assume responsibilities that now fall to bureaucrats.

Kato — the highest-ranking official under the prime minister, in the ruling Liberal Democratic Party — said: "I have seen the duty and responsibility of politicians to be really in charge of this nation."

Prime Minister Hashimoto later named a former prosecutor to run the Finance Ministry. The appointment is seen as an attempt by the government to project a fresh, clean image.

The new minister, Hikaru Matsunaga, 66, a former prosecutor who is serving his 10th term in parliament, has also served as head of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry and as chairman of the budget committee in parliament.

Matsunaga will be charged with helping Japan's economy out of recession, and quieting complaints from the United States and Europe that Japan needs to jumpstart its economy because of its long-running economic "bubble."

The ongoing corruption allegations in the nerve center of Japanese economic life have preoccupied — some say paralyzed — the government just as it is being criticized around the globe for being too lax at fixing the Asian economic crisis.

"Regaining public trust in the Finance Ministry is more important than anything else," Matsunaga told reporters. "If we find any wrongdoing, we will correct it, and we will take disciplinary action against those who have committed it."

U.S. Trade Representative Charles Romo said the growing frustration with Japan last week when he criticized Japanese efforts to help and the economic crisis in Asia as "absolutely inadequate."

The Washington Post

Why Does Hillary Stand by Her Man?

David Maraniss

IN THE EARLY morning darkness of Wednesday, January 21, up in the second-floor bedroom of their residence, the husband awakened his wife and said there was something he had to tell her.

"You're not going to believe this, but..." he began.

"What is this?" she asked quietly.

"But I want to tell you what's in the newspapers," he continued.

That is how it began, according to a reconstruction of the scene that she provided on national television. She made the dialogue sound so gentle and innocuous that it evoked the image of a bewildered Ozzie Nelson railing Harriet from slumber, rather than what it was: the first couple's first discussion of reports of new sex allegations that seemed to threaten everything they had struggled to achieve since they spotted each other in the Yale Law School library 28 years ago.

Whether animated or the real thing, the first lady's version of the bedroom scene revealed the disparate roles she plays in critical moments. Here, she was presaging herself as the ordinary wife, trying to live an ordinary life, her sleep interrupted by the lunacies of the outside world. Minutes later in the same interview, she transformed into someone entirely different, chief partaker in the White House counterattack, claiming that she and her husband were victims of a "vast right-wing conspiracy" that included Kenneth W. Starr, the "politically motivated" independent counsel.

In the first few days after the story broke that Starr was investigating whether Clinton had a sexual relationship with a White House intern, she urged the young woman to let about it, some of the central questions in the drama concerned the first lady. What would she do, and why would she do it?

Would this be one of those stories too good for her to tolerate? Would she pack up and leave? Would she re-emerge from public view in a state of depression, or would she take the lead on her husband's behalf?

Many of those questions were posed in subdued tones inside the White House itself, where aides, expressing anxiety and confusion, said they were looking for her to ease their doubts and give them a sense of direction in contrast to what they saw as the president's ambiguity. In keeping with her long-established pattern, the first lady moved steadily to resolve the questions or, at least another them, responding as she has again and again in times of personal and political crisis: by doing whatever is required for the survival of the tumultuous and resilient partnership of Clinton and Clinton.

After keeping a low profile for a few days, she seized control of her husband's defense, seeking to protect not only his position and legacy but hers as well. "I probably know him better than anybody alive in the



Hillary Clinton addresses a meeting at the University of Zurich on the first day of her four-day visit to Switzerland. PHOTO ANDY MUELLER

world," she declared, offering her credentials as his best defender. Certainly no one matched her experience. She has had to deal with allegations about his unfaithfulness for nearly a quarter-century — since she drove to Fayetteville in 1974 to help him campaign for a congressional seat — and, ever since, from Arkansas to Washington, she has been the singularly essential figure in each recovery. He has made in the repetitive cycle of loss and recovery that defines his political career.

This time, she returned to the breach displaying the outwardly unfazed certitude of a battle-tested veteran. She said what she thought needed to be said about her husband. She loved him. She believed him. People misunderstood him. They misook his gregariousness

for something more sinister. After all, she were out to get him. Always had been. But they had survived before and would again and that was that, silence from now on, business as usual.

For all the questions the first lady answered last week, one remained. If it is Clinton, Bill Clinton, what motivates her to stay at his side, no matter what? Her critics say the answer is nothing more than a cold and pragmatic arrangement of shared power. Her friends say it can be explained by pride and love. The evidence points to more variegated and complex reasons which, like everything else in their uncommon story, are revealed in their history, in the patterns that appear at the start of their relationship and reappear throughout their long political life.

The first key to understanding Hillary's behavior today can be found in the original nature of her relationship with Bill Clinton. From the time they began dating at the Law School in 1970, they shared a passion for politics, policy, power, books, ideas — and they realized, they told friends, that they could neither heights together that they might not reach separately. Clinton seemed most impressed by her intellect. For her part, Hillary's feelings about Clinton seemed more traditionally romantic. One friend described her as "besotted."

THE second key to understanding Hillary's behavior today comes from the pattern that developed after they got married, moved to Little Rock and became the most powerful couple in Arkansas. Throughout that period from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, there were regular intervals when their personal relationship seemed endangered, often by Clinton's sexual behavior. The true extent of his infidelity is known only to him.

But the most important pattern that developed over that long haul in Arkansas was that in times of real crisis, when Clinton's career, and their shared dream, seemed imperiled — for whatever reason, his personal behavior or larger political

crises — it was Hillary who led the lead and made it possible for him to survive and recover. She did this largely by turning inward, coolly focusing her anger and her formidable energy on his adversity. This habitual response intensified their symbiotic relationship at a moment of vulnerability and made easier for her to repeat the process the next time.

When the Army sent Master Sgt. Dorothy Moses to the 2nd Brigade headquarters of the 1st Armored Division, she arrived in one of the first waves of an Army campaign to move women into its core business of fighting wars.

Before 1994, when the Army opened thousands of combat-related jobs to women, only male soldiers could serve in the 2nd Brigade, which for decades stood on the front lines of the Cold War. The changes made women eligible to fill

those jobs in intelligence, logistics, communications, and to command troops in units were once closed to them.

But Moses and the 11 other women assigned by the Army to the headquarters here, none of them officers, do not work in these fields. They are supply clerks, administrators and a chaplain's assistant.

Moses, the second highest ranking woman, runs the kitchen.

Killed as a major step toward gender integration of the country's largest military branch, the Army's policy has produced meager gains for women. The changes opened 20,000 jobs to women for the 1990s in combat brigade headquarters and fields such as combat aviation, engineer bridge companies and intelligence, training companies.

Today, however, just 1,507 women have been sent to previously off-limits units. Most, like Moses, are doing jobs Army women have always done: providing food, supplies, medical care and office work.

Progress in moving women into new areas has been impeded by factors from discrimination to informal preferences of local commanders, according to Army statistics, internal reports and scores of interviews.

Some women have been kept from jobs because commanders reject prospective candidates without experience in ground combat units. Because women are barred from such front-line combat units — the only posts from which they are still legally excluded — they can't open up to them.

The halting pace also is a reflection of what the Army describes as an intentionally slow, non-confrontational approach to assimilating

women. Unlike the Navy and Air Force, which adopted more aggressive strategies, Army leaders have opted for a "natural evolution." Although women make up 15 percent of the Army, the highest percentage in U.S. history, the service has no plans to create a cadre of female leaders, to recruit women into jobs where they are scarce or to ensure that they are not assigned alone to units with hundreds of men.

"Historically the Army's approach is more common-sense and lasting," said Lt. Gen. Frederick Vollrath, the service's top personnel officer, who like other top officers compared the

graduation of women with the integration of black and white troops that began in 1944. Historians say it took four decades until the number of black senior noncommissioned officers approached the percentage of African American soldiers overall.

The Army's policy is designed in part to avoid a "backlash" from its strongly male culture. Vollrath said. But for many women it has meant continuing frustration as they find themselves left behind when men are promoted and kept from the network that would help them form the network of connections essential to a successful military career. In a recent Army study of gender relations, more than half of women surveyed said they had been treated unfairly on the job because of their gender, twice as many as had complained of sexual harassment.

In the Germany-based 1st Armored Division, such complaints are common. Both men and women say they are working without guidelines for adapting the exclusively male culture to what the service was built to meet: the needs of men.

The division in one of the Army's premier fighting forces. Headquarters in Bad Kreuznach and scattered across southern Germany, the division joined the allied attack on Iraq during the Persian Gulf War. Its nearly 20,000 troops have been deployed to Bosnia, and units have been sent to Macedonia, Rwanda, Uganda and Zaire. Women make up 9 percent of the division and 5 percent of its officers, according to division statistics. All but one of the division's 16 highest-ranking women work in logistics, supply and personnel, all traditional areas for women. In this sense, the division mirrors the Army as a whole.

GIDEON WEEKLY
February 8, 1995

Women Still Battle For Combat Jobs

Dana Priest
In Baumholder, Germany

WHEN the Army sent Master Sgt. Dorothy Moses to the 2nd Brigade headquarters of the 1st Armored Division, she arrived in one of the first waves of an Army campaign to move women into its core business of fighting wars.

Before 1994, when the Army opened thousands of combat-related jobs to women, only male soldiers could serve in the 2nd Brigade, which for decades stood on the front lines of the Cold War. The changes made women eligible to fill those jobs in intelligence, logistics, communications, and to command troops in units were once closed to them.

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Nearly three-quarters of female officers and enlisted women work in these areas, along with finance, medical and transportation jobs.

When it comes to high-ranking women in newly opened combat-related units, including combat brigade headquarters and air defense artillery, the division draws a blank: There are no senior or mid-level female officers or senior noncommissioned officers in any of these units, according to personnel records provided by the division and brigade commanders.

"You would expect to see mid-grade officers and NCOs in key, career-enhancing positions like operations, intelligence and command," said Lt. Col. Robert Carrington, head of the Army's office responsible for overseeing women's personnel issues, who has reviewed staffing at the division. "Until women are valued partners in the Army's first team, they will be institutionally discriminated against and have less opportunity."

What that means to Spc. Churmin Irving, who maintains the 2nd Brigade headquarters' small armory, is that a quarter-century after the Women's Army Corps was disbanded and they were allowed to join men in the all-volunteer Army, women still are unwelcome by some male colleagues. "I've had it told to me that men don't believe women should be in the Army," Irving said.

Each service was allowed to apply

the new regulations as it saw fit. Nearly all Air Force jobs, including fighter and bomber pilots, were opened to women. All jobs in the Navy, except those on submarines and as special operations SEALs, are now open, although women are put on ships only in separate berthing spaces are built on vessels. Sixty-two percent of jobs in the much smaller Marine Corps are open to women.

For the first time, the Army allowed women to work at brigade headquarters of armor, infantry and special operations organizations. But women remain excluded from smaller combat battalions, companies and platoons that would go further forward, near or at the front line.

Army women also can now fly combat helicopters, he field artillery surveyors and join military intelligence collection companies.

But the gains have been limited. A recent RAND study for the Defense Department found "official and unofficial assignment policies" in the Army that discriminate against women. "Some local commanders will not assign women to certain newly opened units because they have..." assigned that some assignments that are officially open to women should be closed," RAND reported. Other commanders use women to fill administrative jobs, even though they may be trained in an operational specialty, the study found.

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Surrounded by male soldiers, Staff Sgt. Ellen Cavanaugh, of the 501st MP company in Bad Kreuznach, Germany, cleans her weapon. PHOTO NANCY ANDREWS

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Private Morality, Public Interest?

OPINION
David S. Broder

WHETHER THE Monica Lewinsky affair ends in vindication for President Clinton, resignation or something in between, the press and the people of this country need to ask themselves some questions. Once the matter is settled, we need to think about the really murky issue of when the private sexual behavior of presidents and presidential aspirants deserves to be a matter for public scrutiny.

I am not filing a brief for the president. The accusations against him in both the Paula Corbin Jones civil suit and in the investigation by Whitewater special counsel Kenneth Starr of incest revelations by Lewinsky involve more than the facts Jones alleges that the governor of Arkansas sent state troopers to bring her, a state employee,

to his hotel room and denied her promotions who she refused a crude proposition. The Lewinsky matter involves a mid-grade president and a lowly intern young enough to be his daughter, and also the serious charge of witness tampering.

But the common thread to all these scandals is sex, and that subject has appeared with growing frequency in recent presidential campaigns. Gary Hart was driven from the race by exposure of his dalliance. George Bush's son wrote a letter to the editor demanding that his father had an extramarital affair. Even Pat Robertson was confronted with questions about premarital sex.

Maybe, when this is over, we need to ask ourselves if "the French solution" of ignoring bedroom behavior has some merit. If reporters and politicians ought to adopt a variant atmosphere of the presidential campaign trail, hush

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When I joined the national press corps in the 1960 election campaign, I was instructed by Bill Lawrence of The New York Times about the "west of the Potomac rule," which said very simply, "Don't talk in Washington about what you see on the road."

This can be easily criticized for its hypocrisy and its self-protection in what was then a largely all-male world of politicians and reporters. But it was also a reflection of a reality which has not changed. In the high-energy, self-enclosed, simultaneously exhilarating and exhausting atmosphere of the presidential campaign trail, hush

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romances flourish like weeds. So too in the White House.

The veil of secrecy about these matters has been withdrawn for a variety of reasons, good and bad. Neither the press corps nor the campaign and White House staffs are "good old boys" clubs any longer. Media outlets have proliferated and stories move much more easily from the tabloids to the establishment press.

The nominating process has changed from one controlled by a few insiders, who could judge the candidates' character from firsthand experience, to one dominated by millions of primary election voters whose information comes either from the candidates themselves or from the press.

Under the circumstances, journalistic efforts to explore presidential character have become a necessity. The question is how illuminating of character is knowledge of sexual behavior?

Some would say it is fundamental, that a politician who breaks his or her marriage vows

cannot be trusted with anything that is of clear and definable standard. But how many Americans would have sacrificed Roosevelt's leadership in the Great Depression and World War II because of Lucy Rutherford? The modern presidents most immune from scandal were Harry Truman and Jimmy Carter. But the former White House performance has drawn historians' praise and the latter's hate.

Presidential character clearly involves more than sexual purity. By probing so persistently into that one aspect of their lives, the press may force candidates to proclaim a degree of virtue which few in their profession — or ours — sustain. When these claims are debunked, they can do little to soothe and quell the clamor.

Perhaps a cadre of candidates of impeccable morals awaits. Until then, the press should be scrupulous not to overstate and harder to put these matters in perspective. The public is asking for a surfeit of snuff.

THE IMPORTANCE of the virginity of an American girl to a family's honor goes to the heart of Turkey's traditional moral code. But recent suicide attempts by five girls seeking to avoid a forced virginity examination — and a strong defense of the practice by the government's justice minister — has aroused a degree of virtue which few in their profession — or ours — sustain. When these claims are debunked, they can do little to soothe and quell the clamor.

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Suicide Bids Fuel Virginity Test Debate

Kelly Coulter in Ankara

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Saluting The New Homeric Age

Michael Dirda

THE SIMPSONS
A Complete Guide to Our Favorite Family
Created by Matt Groening
Edited by Ray Richmond and
Antonio Coffman
HarperPerennial, 249 pp., \$16.95

FOR A LONG WHILE, I used to scan the TV listings when I felt really tired, hoping to find some program to soothe a troubled soul or third brain. Alas, almost nothing ever looked appealing enough to spend even 30 minutes of my adult life on. *Melrose Place*? Dramas about emergency rooms? Not for me, thank you.

Then, one fabled day and long after the rest of the world, I discovered *The Simpsons*. In years past I might have given temporary television allegiance to the original *Star Trek*, to *Dr. Who* (Tom Baker only), and, long ago, to *The Avengers* and *The Prisoner*, but *The Simpsons* has proven better than any of them. And it's only a cartoon—or, more accurately, an animated version of the Human Comedy (complete with recurring characters), a wickedly funny yet oddly affectionate satire of American life and the 20th century, imagine the unlikely offspring of *Mad*, *Muppet*, *Brooklyn* and *Mr. Burns*.

Like *Teklad* or sports nuts, addicts of *The Simpsons* know that the show's genius derives from its details. We look hard to see what Bart is scribbling on the blackboard at the opening of each program; we wait for power-mad Mr. Burns to place his finger tips together and murmur "Excellent." We look back to confirm that the guest voice is Meryl Streep or Patrick Stewart or Wendy Patinkin. And though Homer, Marge, Bart, Lisa and Maggie obviously remain the heart of the series, most connoisseurs particularly relish certain minor characters. I, for one, yearn for a show that would pick the genial character Dr. Nick Riviera, graduate of the Hollywood Uptown Medical College (a together now "Hello, Dr. Nick"). Of course, every one's favorite villain remains the one, the only, the inimitable Sideshow Bob, that fiend in human shape with LUV and HAT tattooed on his knuckles.

Because an much happens in each *Simpsons* episode (multiple story lines, a bang of sight gags, nonstop repartee), it's easy to miss some of the humor—no reason why the show bears repeated viewing. Happily, *The Simpsons: A Complete Guide to Our Favorite Family* has been organized with the addict in mind. This little book is a synopses of every episode, original air dates, artistic credits (there are 140 writers that I realized for a show so consistent in tone), brief biographies of every major and many minor characters, and holler-than-thou neighbor Ned Flanders to Lurchy Doria, gobs and bits of dialogue, stills from each show, and pointers to



ILLUSTRATION: MATT GROENING. TWENTIETH CENTURY FOX FILM CORPORATION

the "stuff you may have missed." There's a particularly exhaustive list of every character, including Homer's "Doh!" a complete list of the show's recurring characters, and double-page spreads devoted to the lives of each character, from the lives of Homer and Marge to the lives of the show's minor characters.

Most valuable of all, I think, are the extensive quotations from each episode. Bart: "Dad, you shot the Zombie Plunderer!" Homer: "He was a zombie!" Or Lisa: "Captain's Log Starday 6061: I had trouble sleeping last night."

Addicts of The Simpsons know that the show's genius derives from its details

light. . . my blarney is acting up. The ship is drifting and I'm in a jam! I complain but nobody listens!" (an aged Captain Kirk in *Star Trek XII: So Very Tired*). Marge answers the phone at his home: "TV check. Amanda Huggens. Hey, I'm looking for Amanda Huggens. Why can't I find Amanda Huggens?" A sign at Springfield's Worst Western Hotel: "Ask about our sheet rental."

Although *The Simpsons* continues at a high level of excellence, I don't think its popularity has ever matched the four shows of October 1993: "Cape Fear," in which Bart and his family, under the Witness Protection Program, become the Thompsons in a (vain) effort to escape the wrath of Sideshow Bob; "Homer Goes to College," with the opening sequence about the unexpected arrival of safety inspectors at the nuclear power

plant (As Mr. Burns says, "The watching of public safety. Is there any lower form of life?") "Road to the Yellow Peril," a parody starring Mr. Burns as a teddy bear, Bobo; and "Tree House of Horror IV," which is *The Simpsons*, wherein Homer sells his soul for a donut.

To appreciate fully *The Simpsons: A Complete Guide* you should be familiar enough with the show to hear the distinctive voice of each character, from the gravelly cigarette-rattling voice of Mr. Burns to the high-pitched, nasal voice of Lisa Simpson, who works at the Department of Motor Vehicles and reveres MacGyver, to the Teutonic mumble of action hero Rainier Wolfcastle (star of *Radioactive Man*).

The guide discloses that Harry Shearer does the voices of Ned Flanders, Ned Flanders, Principal Skinner, Kent Brockman, Otto, Mr. Burns, Dr. Hibbert, Reverend Lovejoy, media psychotherapist Dr. Marvin Monroe (another personal favorite), Scratchy and the alien Kang, among many others. Dan Castellaneta and Hank Azaria include a similar number of characters in their spoken repertoires. Altogether astounding.

Recently, the page proofs for a forthcoming book called *Who Killed Homer?* crossed my desk. For a moment I hesitated, thinking it must be some kind of novel-length sequel to the famous two-part *Simpsons* episode "Who Shot Mr. Burns?" Then I realized it was actually about the decline of classical studies in our time. An important subject, one I'm quite interested in—but I couldn't help but feel a little disappointed.

Mouse That Roared

Jonathan Yardley

THE MAGIC KINGDOM
Walt Disney and the American Way of Life
By Steven Watts
Houghton Mifflin, 526 pp., \$30

IT IS AN inescapable truth that Walt Disney is one of the major figures of 20th-century America, however disagreeable that may be to those who find little to applaud in the Disneyfication of our culture. Like other individuals and institutions of pervasive, not always benign influence, Disney and his corporation that bears his name are irresistible targets for attack, a sport in which I, like countless others, have frequently and gleefully participated.

But it is rather more difficult to look Disney square-on, to assess him soberly, as free as possible of cultural bias and reflexive condemnation. This is what Steven Watts has attempted to do in *The Magic Kingdom*, a very long book that falls somewhere between biography and cultural history. Watts, a professor of history at the University of Missouri, confesses at the outset to having fallen under the Disney spell as a child four decades ago, and at times he seems incapable of wiping the stars out of his eyes; though not exactly Disney's apologist, he does bend over quite far backwards to give him his due. But in the process he requires us to acknowledge that his stupendous success arose not from cynical manipulation of the popular audience but from heartfelt understanding of and sympathy with average Americans and their hopes, fears and values.

Walt Disney was no average American. He was preternaturally smart, industrious and ambitious. Nor was he, as he liked to claim, a small-town Iowa boy; his roots were more complicated than that, so his sentimental vision of small-town life was rooted at least in part in fantasy as in fact. Indeed, it may have been all the stronger for that. A persistent strain in American culture is the outsider, the person who longs to fit into a corner or another of our vast society and expresses that longing in literature or art or something (as in Disney's case) considerably short of these but more powerful.

Disney's career as a cartoonist began in the aftermath of World War I in Kansas City. It ran in fits and starts but in a clear upward march, finally taking him to Hollywood and its nascent movie industry. This was a watershed moment in American history. Walt's success was Disney's role in this momentous and traumatic process deserves to be quoted in full: "In the broadest sense, Disney smoothed the jagged transition from the values of the Victorian age to those of a fledgling consumer society. In addition, he helped to dismantle barriers between high and low culture, between art and commerce, between the realistic art of the past and the new art of the modernism of the 20th century. Throughout, he negotiated the treacherous waters that lay between art and politics, synthesizing power and impulse in subtle and soothing ways. Disney had a foot in the past and the present—throughout the 1930s, and he helped Americans accommodate to a new age, by appealing to older traditions while

forging a new creed of leisure, self-fulfillment and mass consumption. More than a mere cartoonist or entertainer, he managed to become, in his own phrase, a spokesman for the American way of life. The rule was enormously satisfying and Disney played it with gusto for many years."

Any number of reservations can be attached to that passage—in the Kansas City militia that supports only blacks in Disney's "America" were stereotypes, the "past" he celebrates was at least as much fiction as fact; the "American way of life" was considerably darker and more ambiguous than what one finds in Disney World—but in essence it's true. One may feel, as a disgruntled former Disney employee once told me, that Disney "had the innate bad taste of the American people," but Watts is correct to say that the images he created, turned out to be a soothing, turned out to be a pill for millions caught up in the most bewildering change since the Industrial Revolution.

It is easy, now, to think of Disney as a malign influence, when one considers the bureaucratic machinery that he didn't begin to create. Watts reminds us, the early Disney cartoons had a "mixture of music, mischief, dance, comedy and a little bit of everything," and he played considerable ambivalence about the values of modern America.

In time Disney developed what Watts calls "sentimental modernism," a "blend of comfort and innovation" in ways that went down easily, but this took place after he had already evolved into Disney the corporation.

He and his company were scarcely the only ones to follow this path. When the history of 20th-century America is written surely one of its central themes will be how quirky, original visions evolved into mass uniformity as the people suppressing them came under pressure to conform to the majority. But we do well to separate the individual from the corporation, even if in time they became indistinguishable. In Disney's own mind as in ours, in the beginning he was a bright, innocent man who had a deep faith in a somewhat artificial vision of America and a capacity to render this in terms that ordinary people responded to with pleasure and empathy. For a long time before Disney was a great deal of fun, as evidence from his early cartoons makes engagingly plain. As Watts notes, it is ironic that Disney, whose early work made sport of central organization and bureaucracy, in time presided over a bureaucracy as vast as anyone's, but that is the way of the world, or at least of 20th-century America.

By the time of his death in 1966, Disney had become something far larger than the man himself: "a revered national moralist, an example of American achievement, a trusted guardian of the nation's children, and a representative of average citizens and their values, tastes and desires." For many of us it is his success in simplifying and soothing that is the most true for that. We Americans vote with our pocketbooks, and the multi-billion-dollar corporation that Disney built—the most audacious instrument of mass persuasion on the entire planet—may well be the most vivid and self-referencing expression of American "way of life" or not.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
February 8, 1993

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Sierra Leone's junta comes under siege

Thomas Sobotnik in Freetown

C LASHES in eastern Sierra Leone between the ruling military junta and forces of the Kamajor militia that supports the ousted president, Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, left 35 people dead on January 25. The fighting came in the wake of an earlier engagement on January 19, when the diamond-bearing region of Tongo Fields was captured by government forces.

The area, which is rich in alluvial diamonds mined by small individual prospectors, had fallen briefly into the hands of the Kamajors. They are believed to have negotiated their withdrawal in exchange for a surprise attack so as to hold prospectors to ransom and obtain funds to finance their activities. The counter-attack was mounted by an alliance of government troops and former guerrillas of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF).

Diamonds are both the prize and the fuel of the civil war that has devastated Sierra Leone over the past seven years. In the course of the war tens of thousands of people have lost their lives in this small West African country, a former British colony founded to settle freed slaves from Britain.

In the latest phase of the civil war, a coalition of *rebels* in the Revolutionary Armed Forces Command (RAFC) and former RUF rebels is warring against the Kamajors, who are supported by the Nigerian army, which has about 10,000 soldiers in Sierra Leone.

The Nigerians, applying sanctions decided by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), have imposed an almost total embargo on Sierra Leone, which has been their official mandate — although their official mandate was to help the RUF rebels and weapons and fuel. They are in fact besieging Freetown: Nigerian troops control land access to the



A seven-year civil war has devastated Sierra Leone, and a military coup last May has prompted neighbouring countries to impose sanctions

PHOTO: JEFFREY BULLOCK

capital and its airports, while the navy prevents boats from unloading oil (which falls under the terms of the sanctions) and rice (which does not).

It is now eight months since army officers wrested back control of Freetown. On May 23 a group of non-commissioned officers and privates sprang Major Johnny Paul Koroma from Freetown Road prison, where he had been mouldering for six months after being charged with attempting a coup against Kabbah, who had been elected president in March 1992.

The rebels ousted Kabbah, installed Koroma as president, and charged with attempting a coup against Kabbah, who had been elected president in March 1992.

Just before his arrest, Sankoh was living in the Ivorian capital, Abidjan, and President Kabbah was still in power in Sierra Leone. Whether acting on impulse or malice, Sankoh was promptly picked up by police acting on the instructions of Nigeria's leader, General Sani Abacha, who is now too preoccupied to relieve his friend Kabbah of such a troublesome opponent.

On October 23 the junta, the RUF and ECOWAS concluded an agreement in the Guinean capital, Conakry, that provided for the return to power of President Kabbah on April 22. The RUF were then linked with Sankoh. They now claim they were duped.

It does indeed seem that Nigeria, which has taken over the political and military leadership of West African intervention in Sierra

Leone, is in no mood to negotiate and would prefer to impose the force of the ousted president by force.

Several thousand Nigerian troops are stationed at Lungi airport and along the Freetown-Conakry highway. Acting apparently under the authority of ECOWAS, they have been designated as part of Ecomog, the West African peace-keeping force in neighbouring Liberia.

Nigeria has announced that 9,000 of its soldiers stationed in Liberia will be redeployed in Sierra Leone. The Freetown junta regards the presence of 12,000-15,000 foreign troops whose task is to disarm the country's opposing factions as tantamount to an "invasion".

The petrol shortage means that most people in Freetown have to move about on foot. Power has been restored, but only after a complete close-down of all production, including the brewing of beer.

Nigeria's liberal interpretation of sanctions has created food shortages. A 50kg sack of rice costs 100,000 leones, almost twice what a low-ranking government employee earns a month. The value of Sierra Leone's currency has been plummets. A dollar is now worth 2,500 leones, double its value before the coup.

The population is grateful to the junta for only one thing: it brought the RUF into the political fold. This is a rag-bag of reformist officers and disgruntled soldiers. The inhabitants of Freetown often wonder who will protect them from their "protectors". When Nigerian soldiers fly over the city, soldiers fire at them with mortars and grenade-launchers — weapons whose projectiles are designed to explode when they hit the ground. In October 1992 a typhoon hit the Nigerian air force left 35 people dead — victims of projectiles fired by the junta troops.

(January 28)

Pope falls foul of Germany's Catholics

COMMENT

Nancy Tink

ON JANUARY 27, Pope John Paul II caused an outcry in Germany when he published a letter that directed German bishops urging them to stop Catholics' authorities from issuing certificates authorizing women to have an abortion under circumstances clearly defined by law.

The publication of the letter would have come just after the Pope's visit to Cuba as a coincidence. Yet one cannot help seeing a parallel between the two events, since they symbolize the contradictions of the Pope's 20-year spell in office.

On the one hand, he had dedicated himself to the goal of giving shape to the world and thought to give shape to the point of seeing with the laity the only alternative to the authoritarian regime.

The Pope's intransigence is puzzling. It could hardly deny the fact that Catholic German women have in their Church, which has up to now advised them on whether or not to have an abortion — always a serious decision.

It is surprising that the Pope can be so bold in his defence of justice and human rights, and so timid when faced with the cultural, ethical and sexual issues posed by modern society.

Should he be seen as adopting a "teaching" stance on questions of social and political morals, and a "righting" one when it comes to private, marital and family matters?

The Pope is not interested in such distinctions. He no longer sees any difference between the atheist communist system, which, as he argues, is "reducing religion to a private domain and role of the individual," and the Catholic Church, which he sees as "a private domain and role of the individual."

It is, after all, a country where, as the Pope goes, "one is first and foremost a Protestant, and, if one is a Catholic, one is not primarily a Roman Catholic."

The relationship between the Pope and Germany is the result of an old love affair that ended badly. German Catholics played a key role in the convulsion of October 1978 that elected the Archbishop of Krakow, Karol Wojtyla, as Pope.

But the Pope very quickly discovered, to his cost, that the cultural gap between a Protestant, secularized and liberal Germany, and a Catholic, traditional and authoritarian Poland had not narrowed.

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The first Catholic theologian to be suspended by the Vatican, in 1979, was Hans Küng, a professor at the Catholic University of Tübingen, who had become one of the most steadfast opponents of the Pope on such issues as the ordination of women, the celibacy of the clergy and sexual ethics.

In 1992 it was the turn of Eugen Drewermann, a priest and psychoanalyst, to be suspended because he had broken the taboo by discussing the institution of the clergy. In Germany theologians enjoy a status that has no equivalent in the Latin or Slav countries of Europe. They are recognized, remunerated and highly regarded academics.

Needless to say, the theologians' independent-mindedness, which is appreciated in Germany, is loathed in Rome.

So it is hardly surprising that Germany's powerful lay Catholics and the more open-minded members of the Catholic hierarchy regularly call on their flock to resist decisions coming out of Rome.

In 1994 Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, the Vatican's doctrinal watchdog,

who is German, disowned three of his compatriots in the episcopate — including its president, Margarete Lehmann. They had publicly called for a relaxation of the Church's attitude towards the remarriage of divorcees.

That same year, it was in Germany that the Pope's letter "definitely" rejecting the possibility of women's liberation provoked the most virulent reactions.

In the latest row over abortion it is not so much the legitimacy of the Pope's position that is at issue as the social and institutional role played by a Church which in Germany, ever since Bismarck's anti-Catholic law of 1871, has been a part of the social and institutional fabric.

Now wealthy, powerful and organized along hierarchical lines, the Catholic Church is suffering from the after-effects of all these anti-Romanist feelings.

Whole sections of society are drifting away from a brand of Catholicism that no longer meets their aspirations, particularly as regards sexual and marital ethics.

The Pope's latest edict may further alienate Germans from the Catholic Church and threaten the well-established tradition of social commitment.

(January 28)

Lula takes leaf out of the evangelists' book

Jean-Jacques Saville
in Rio de Janeiro

HOW do you finance an election campaign in a political system where you are perceived as a relentless opponent of the power exerted by high finance? Still smarting from the sneers of right-wingers about the funds he once raised from the private sector, Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva, the candidate of the left-wing Workers Party (PT) of next October's presidential election in Brazil, plans to launch a national subscription.

In so doing, Lula admits he has taken his cue from the self-styled Universal Church of the Kingdom of God, an evangelical Brazilian sect which has amassed a colossal fortune in thanks to donations from its followers, most of whom, like the WP's electorate, come from a background of poverty.

Lula is taking a risk. The road to power is paved with less and less impact on the poorest Brazilians — in inverse proportion to the "theology of prosperity" peddled by the Universal Church and the many

small churches in the evangelical movement.

Brazil, which is officially credited with having more Catholics than any other country in the world (120 million), now also has a huge population of *crentes* (believers), as Protestants are generally known in Brazil. The Brazil of the Rio Carnival has now become an ideal recruiting ground for a puritan ideology imported from the United States.

Brazil's 16 million Protestants now account for 10 per cent of the population (compared with 6.7 per cent in 1980). In the past few years, the rate of conversions has even exceeded despite virulent attacks by the media on some of the evangelical sects' practices, such as religious fanaticism and extortion.

After spending a brief spell in jail some years ago for "charlatanism", Edir Macedo, the self-proclaimed "bishop" and founder of the Universal Church, rules over a veritable "multinational of faith", which has established itself in 50 countries and is believed to be worth more than \$500 million.

The "theology of prosperity", which promises material success as well as eternal salvation, is rapidly

putting down roots in sections of a population that was once strongly influenced by liberation theology but which has been ignored by successive governments.

The evangelical sects, while preaching rigorous moral standards (drinking, smoking and homosexuality is regarded as an "illness" that can be cured by prayer), are careful to tailor their aggressive proselytism to suit local beliefs, exorcism, borrowed from Afro-Brazilian syncretic cults, remains popular in Protestant churches, while recourse to abortion, which is condemned both by Rome and by the law (which authorises it only in cases of rape or pregnancies where the mother's life is at risk), is allowed to remain a personal decision.

The evangelical churches, which offer to "expel the devil" through the intermediary of a pastor and to bestow financial redemption on believers who give money, have extended their influence into unexpected territories.

A recent issue of the São Paulo paper, *La Folha*, reported on the cultural effects of an evangelical mission being set up in two Indian communities in southern Amazonia.

"As they get little help from the government, the Indians fall prey to the missions and to the material goods they are given by the churches in return for food, clothes and medicine, they promise to worship a single god."

The relationship of dependency is such as to result in a gradual abandonment of such ancestral customs as wearing cloths, hunting turtles or consulting the shamans.

When ordered by the regional public prosecutor to expel the Protestant churches, whose presence in the reservations is forbidden by law, Jorge Luis de Paula, the local representative of the National Indian Foundation (Funai), the organisation that looks after Amerindian peoples, refused to obey.

The evangelical churches, which have filled a gap left by the government's failure to help, he argues, "How are we going to replace the missions if we haven't got the resources? We don't have the necessary moral authority to insist that they leave."

The episode illustrates an important aspect of the strategy which the Universal Church and its rivals have adopted for the past 15 years in mobilising legions of followers.

Money, health and happiness are proof of divine blessing, according to Edir Macedo, "We declare," "If God believes in the certainty of the evangelists' message (usually in the form of cash), the pastors, He will grant the gift that everyone yearns for. This may seem repugnant to followers, but it is the only way to improve and help them to meet the 1470-sterm cost."

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY
February 6 1999

Donald MacLeod finds boarding schools optimistic about their continuing appeal to overseas students

Seoul searching

THE BURSAR of Ardingly College in West Sussex is currently the proud owner of 19 million Korean won. It is unusual, to say the least, for an English private boarding school to get involved in complicated currency deals but these are unusual times for the Tiger economies of the Far East and the people who work in them.

As the Korean exchange rate plummeted, the growing number of parents with children at British schools found the fees they owed had effectively doubled this term. In the case of parents with children at Ardingly they agreed to pay money into an account in their home country which is being held as security in the hope the exchange rate will improve and help them to meet the £1470-sterm cost.

Tom Watson, the man responsible for the college's finances, said Ardingly would be patient in cases like this and help parents over a crisis so that their children could stay. In addition to three Koreans, the school has five Thai and nine Japanese pupils on its roll of 605. The school is concerned that Thailand's attempts to restrict currency export will cause problems.

Peter de Vull, headmaster of Froeham Heights, in Surrey, said the implications of the economic crisis for the school's income were not yet clear. The school is still the largest single source of students (1,565). For the school fees the ability to tap into overseas markets has provided a much needed lifeline as boarding schools have declined in popularity among British parents, and the numbers of service and expatriate families in overseas postings shrank along with the Empire.

The school of Asian stock markets came at a nasty shock to public school head teachers, many of whom anxiously awaited the return

of our own funds to get him through GCSE," he said.

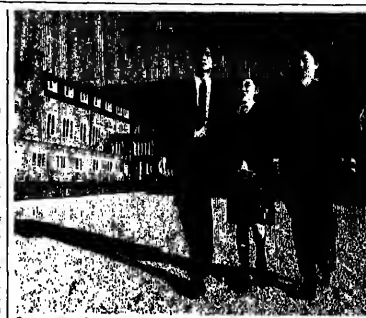
Inquiries were still coming in from countries such as Japan, but like a lot of other schools, Froeham Heights was looking to the developing market of South America for new overseas pupils, said Mr de Vull.

The growth of the number of pupils from the newly prosperous Pacific region attending British boarding schools over the past decade has been one byproduct of the Tiger phenomenon. Building on the old links with Hong Kong and Singapore, from where expatriates had traditionally sent their children to be educated in the old country, boarding schools have established themselves in a lucrative market — and one which is set to expand even more dramatically with the opening up of China to capitalism and Western trade.

Last year nearly 8,000 overseas pupils started at schools in Britain, 45 per cent of them from east Asia. Hong Kong is still the largest single source of students (1,565). For the school fees the ability to tap into overseas markets has provided a much needed lifeline as boarding schools have declined in popularity among British parents, and the numbers of service and expatriate families in overseas postings shrank along with the Empire.

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INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS & COLLEGES 21



Overseas students at Ardingly College: the Asian financial crisis has effectively raised school fees for many pupils

of pupils from the Far East after the Christmas holidays. The immediate impact appears to be less than at first feared. Schools are being as flexible as they can amid, as one headmaster remarked, parents and school fees have been cut to help them to meet the £1470-sterm cost.

David Woodhead, director of the Independent Schools Information Service (ISIS) which operates on behalf of 600 boarding schools, has just returned from education fairs in Hong Kong and Beijing feeling optimistic. The ISIS staff attracted as much attention from both Chinese and expatriate parents as in previous years.

The British Council, which promotes culture and education abroad, had identified three growth

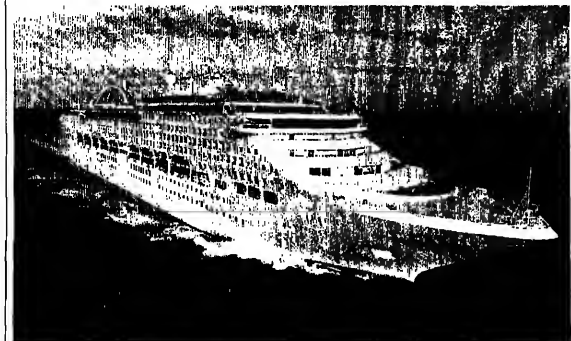
Hong Kong experience transported 7,000 miles away.

If the promise of fluency in English is the key attraction for Asian parents, schools also hold out the prospect of getting on with education in Britain. A recent survey by ISIS found that 70 per cent of overseas pupils leaving independent schools went on to higher education in the UK and a further 13 per cent to universities in their home countries.

Independent schools are holding their breath to see what the long-term impact of the economic turmoil in the region will have on their recruitment. Hong Kong and Japan look less likely to be seriously affected than Korea and Malaysia, where the government is trying to cut back on educational programmes and sponsorship, especially the number of students going abroad. In Korea the government has banned non-essential foreign travel, and the ministry of education has appealed to citizens to save foreign currency by not studying abroad.

British schools are looking increasingly in South America as a new market, but the big prize is mainland China. Mr Woodhead said the response at the Beijing education fair had been incredible with 20,000 visitors over two days. Partly it was the curiosity value that attracted people, in contrast to the sophisticated Hong Kong market, where parents know what they are looking for, but independent schools have been encouraged by the rapid growth of private schools in China to an estimated 50,000.

"New schools are springing up all over the place. If there is a growing number of parents getting into it, it means it is easier to recruit them to the UK," said Mr Woodhead.



A life on the ocean wave... P&O's Sun Princess helps satisfy the booming demand for cruise holidays

Full steam ahead for luxury cruise liners

Fransola Grosrichard

IRONICALLY, at a time when the hugely successful movie *Titanic* shows the faade liner sinking to a watery grave, the market in ocean liners is booming.

P&O, the British shipping firm, has just ordered two 2,600-berth liners from the Italian shipyard, Rinaldi, at \$850 million each, 300 metres long and 36 metres wide, they will cruise at a speed of 22.5 knots. A month earlier, the American group, Renaissance, announced it intended to have two ships built by Chantiers de l'Atlantique at Saint-Nazaire. In a few days, the Le Havre shipyard, Service et Transports, will send a letter of intent to the shipyard at Saint-Nazaire for two ships — they come in pairs — that will operate out of Tahiti.

These are heady times for cruise lines and shipyards, and all the more so because the

Japanese and South Korean conglomerates, which are unbeatable at building oil tankers or car carriers, have absolutely no foothold in the liner market.

Between 50 and 100 different trades are involved in constructing an ocean liner. It is a market dominated by Europeans, led by British and Finnish shipyards, with their German and French competitors not far behind.

Their order books now boast 30 luxury liners, and their schedules, in some cases, are full until 2001. This represents a huge amount of money: liners with more than 3,000 berths and resounding names such as Grand Princess, Pearl, Disney Magic, Violon of the Seas, Project Eagle and Superstar, are worth up to \$500 million each.

The cruise market, which is dominated by American, Norwegian and British firms, has grown spectacularly. The number of passengers in Europe

could well increase by 10 per cent a year between now and 2000, and by more in Asia.

This year 5.5 million North American cruise passengers, mostly from Miami, are expected to tour the Caribbean. Alongside the mammoth floating hotels, there is also room for small operators who offer more intimate and more mobile boats. That is a market niche that has been exploited by the Marseillaise group, Chambon.

There is lots of money to be spent and earned on the high seas. The thriving cruise lines often prefer to pay shipyards in cash rather than in instalments, which is customary in the rest of the shipping business.

Lord Sterling, the *puhkah* chairman of P&O, has quite unashamedly announced that the company's cruise sector generated profits of \$255 million in 1997 and enjoyed profitability of 17 per cent.

Reform points to jobs rise

Laurent Mauduit

WHEN the French finance minister, Dominique Strauss-Kahn, recently presented the results of three studies by different institutes which all suggested that the 35-hour working week by 2000 would create a lot of jobs, he quipped: "I could have given you a million jobs if I wanted to."

His own ministry has forecast 600,000 new jobs by 2002, and he was implying by his remark that you can make figures say anything you want. His warning implies equally to the other two studies, carried out by the Observatoire Français des Conjonctures Économiques (OFCE) and the Banque de France, which forecast respectively that the 35-hour week will create 480,000 or 710,000 jobs in the next years.

Even so, little conclusions cannot be lightly dismissed. The OFCE, though Keynesian and left-of-centre, is one of the most highly regarded independent bodies in France.

The Banque de France's conclusions do come as a surprise. Even though they were reached on the basis of hypotheses supplied by the employment ministry, France's central bank tends not to adopt a frivolous attitude towards policies that might endanger corporate competitiveness. Its simulations are the more remarkable because the bank's own attitude towards public policy is usually more conservative.

The second interesting feature of the two studies is that they offer almost exactly the same answer to a key question: who will pay for the reform? Both the OFCE and the Banque de France stress that it may cost the taxpayer nothing. Companies' labour costs, too, may not be affected. Only salaried employees will be required to make a financial sacrifice — but a sacrifice which the OFCE regards as reasonable.

Both institutions contend that asking people to work 35 hours for 35 hours' pay is antithetical and that remunerating 35 hours as though they were 30 does not make eco-

nomic sense; but if a halfpenny solution were adopted, with a 35-hour week for 35 hours' pay, France could, they argue, achieve an appreciable rise in job creation.

The two studies will not, of course, settle the debate on the 35-hour week. They seem to confirm the government's line. But will not convince the right of employers' federations who fear that their criticism of the shorter week is likely to be met with a much greater impact on employment than a lowering of players' social security expenses, solutions traditionally advocated by the opposition. Most economists reckon that in full of 10 billion (18.1 billion) in social security charges would result in 10,000 jobs a year, or 50,000 jobs over five years.

While these studies lead to a decision to the government's plan, they have the further merit of defining the scale of the challenge facing French society. Always on the play bill — employers and unemployment play bill — is the case at the moment — the 35-hour week would reduce it by only 1 or 2 per cent. In other words, the "social France" would hardly be reduced at all.

The economist Jean-Paul Fitoussi has put his finger on another important question: on a reduced working hours over 1998, the government has planned a reduction of the effects of ageing on working hours.

January 22

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Well met by torchlight

Mark Cooker

I WANTED to be able to write that my friend is a wild goose chaser but, in fact, it's wild geese that he goes after. However, if it doesn't have quite the same ring, it is still one of the more unusual job titles I have come across.

It involves a largely nocturnal lifestyle: starting at six o'clock each evening and taking a four-wheel-drive vehicle along a network of country tracks to scare winged off the coastal fens of central north Norfolk. Large numbers of this duck migrate to Britain during autumn from breeding grounds in Scandinavia and Siberia, and flocks totalling about 13,000 pass the river steadily grazing their way across the region's marshes. While they are eating just grass there is really no conflict. The problems arise if the ducks move from cattle pasture to winter-corn cereals, when they can inflict substantial damage.

Local farmers receive compensatory payments for these losses, but it is cheaper to pay somebody to prevent the damage in the first place, and this is where a duck chaser comes in. Following a regular beat each night, he locates the troublesome birds and evicts them with the use of a powerful torch. On a really dark moonless night it is a relatively short shift. But it is also cold and rather lonely. Except for the odd, mistaken pursuit by the police, or occasional couples who make a somewhat embarrassing choice of quiet country lane to do their courting, there are few diversions.

It is when he describes his regular wildlife encounters — the barn owl gliding over marshes glazed with frost, the tinkling silhouettes of wild geese sailing across the face of an enormous moon, or woodcock, elusive nocturnal waders, which become immobilised if caught in the car headlights — that I begin to feel the slightest twinge of envy. But then he describes the impact of a full moon, when the ducks are able

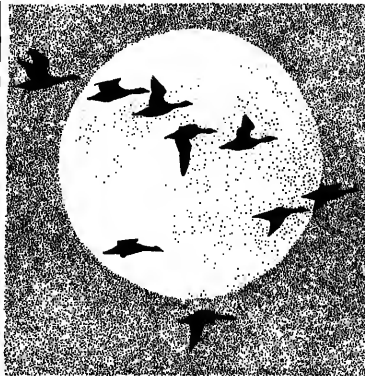


ILLUSTRATION: ANN HODGAY

to feed most actively and force him into gruelling 12-hour shifts, that I give thanks for the duck job.

That my friend doesn't actually have to chase wild geese is rather ironic, since north Norfolk is one of their most important wintering areas in Europe, and they will also feed on winter-corn cereals just like the wigeon. The species involved is the pink-footed goose, whose entire breeding range involves just three Arctic areas: Greenland, Iceland, and Svalbard.

Almost all the birds from Greenland and Iceland winter in Britain and have reached a new Norfolk peak this year of 75,000, about a third of the world population. As remarkable as this huge total is the way they have steadily increased over the years, more than tripling in the past 10 years, probably because of better protection in the wintering areas. These ever-hungry geese num-

bers are one of Britain's great environmental success stories and perhaps offer a glimpse of what must be a staggering abundance of wildfowl in East Anglia before the invention of firearms.

Despite heavily outnumbering the wigeon, the geese usually have a much smaller impact on local agriculture for several reasons. First, they have a wider vegetable diet and as well as cattle pasture they graze old brassicas, left-over potatoes, sugar beet tops and split cereal. Unlike wigeon, which feed in a concentrated area, the geese spread their impact by ranging over much larger stretches of coastal Norfolk. In fact, observations of pink-footed geese in Lancashire have led to speculation that these birds may make excursions to feed in Norfolk, then return to roost in the Northwest. If this were the case, then it involves a day trip of almost 700km.

Chess Leonard Barden

A NATOLY KARPOV is still 'fidei' rather than 'fidei', while Garry Kasparov dismissed the match as a 'tired player and a weak player'. Anand's play at the end of the match against Kasparov in Saint-Nagier 1994, after Kasparov won the title game in New York 1995, and even his missed forced mate against Kasparov in 1991. The cool Indian can choose at big moments against ex-Soviet.

Karpov won game one by an opening novelty bomb, but let the match slip in game two, where he made a forced win, and again in game six, where he gave away a piece. Anand started the tie-break as favourite and was a pawn up in game seven; then he collapsed, blundering into a lost endgame, before a wild coffee-house attack failed in the decisive game eight.

Anand v Karpov, 8th game

1 d4 d5 2 Bg5 h6 3 Bxf6 e4 4 Nf3 Qd6 5 Bb3 Bf6 6 e3 Nf7 7 Bb3 Bxd3 8 Qxd3 e6 The solid defence which defeated John Hodgson in the world team championship. 9 e4 Nf7 Black is comfortable, but still has to decide whether to play Nf6xh4 and which side to castle; or White can be non-committal with 0-0 and Nch. Instead... 10 Bc3 Qc3-11 Nc3 b6 12 b4 12 c6 and gives Black a Q-side initiative, but this desperate gambit would only make sense if Karpov castled long.

Qc3-13 0-0 Nf5 14 Rf1 Rf7 bxc5 15 Rxb1 c4 A simple refutation. 16 Qc2 Qd5 17 Rb7 Qd6 18 Rb1 Bb6 19 e4 Nf4 20 Naf4 Bb5 As advised in books for beginners, exchange pawns when you are ahead. 21 Rxb5 Bxb5 22 e5 cxd5 23 Nf6 Sacrificing a knight for three harmless pawns and a few checks, but otherwise Black's extra pawn wins.

b6 24 Qxg6 Kd8 25 Qg7 Rg8 26 Qh6 Qd5 27 Qg5 Kc8 28 Qg4 Rb8 29 Rf1 Qd6 30 Nf2 e5 31 Qf5 Qf6 32 Rf1 Rf8 33 Resigns! If 33 Qf4 cxd4 threatens Bxh2. It was the worst final game in a world championship match since Zolotarev blundered his queen against Steinitz in 1898. Afterwards Karpov attributed his

opponent's poor play to 'tiredness rather than fatigue', while Garry Kasparov dismissed the match as a 'tired player and a weak player'. Anand's play at the end of the match against Kasparov in Saint-Nagier 1994, after Kasparov won the title game in New York 1995, and even his missed forced mate against Kasparov in 1991. The cool Indian can choose at big moments against ex-Soviet.

World number one Kasparov has not played a title match since 1993, and he recently admitted that his break from Fide in 1995 was a mistake. So the next move looks to be the sixth Kasparov-Karpov match, this time for a unified world championship. But what chess really needs is a credible Western challenger, and the Groningen knockout showed that Michael Adams is the best available. If the hybrid British number one could not seriously on his primitive opening repertoire and super-ambitious for top places in super-tournaments, he could have his chance.

No 2509



R. Lignel v A. Niemela, Fianlet 1947. Players who like the Alek Counter Gambit: 1 d4 d5 2 c4 e5 3 Nc3 Nf6 4 Bb5 Bc6 5 Bxc6 Bxc6 6 Nf3 Qd6 7 e4 Qe7 8 Qd3 Qd6 9 Qd3 Qd6 10 Qd3 Qd6 11 Qd3 Qd6 12 Qd3 Qd6 13 Qd3 Qd6 14 Qd3 Qd6 15 Qd3 Qd6 16 Qd3 Qd6 17 Qd3 Qd6 18 Qd3 Qd6 19 Qd3 Qd6 20 Qd3 Qd6 21 Qd3 Qd6 22 Qd3 Qd6 23 Qd3 Qd6 24 Qd3 Qd6 25 Qd3 Qd6 26 Qd3 Qd6 27 Qd3 Qd6 28 Qd3 Qd6 29 Qd3 Qd6 30 Qd3 Qd6 31 Qd3 Qd6 32 Qd3 Qd6 33 Qd3 Qd6 34 Qd3 Qd6 35 Qd3 Qd6 36 Qd3 Qd6 37 Qd3 Qd6 38 Qd3 Qd6 39 Qd3 Qd6 40 Qd3 Qd6 41 Qd3 Qd6 42 Qd3 Qd6 43 Qd3 Qd6 44 Qd3 Qd6 45 Qd3 Qd6 46 Qd3 Qd6 47 Qd3 Qd6 48 Qd3 Qd6 49 Qd3 Qd6 50 Qd3 Qd6 51 Qd3 Qd6 52 Qd3 Qd6 53 Qd3 Qd6 54 Qd3 Qd6 55 Qd3 Qd6 56 Qd3 Qd6 57 Qd3 Qd6 58 Qd3 Qd6 59 Qd3 Qd6 60 Qd3 Qd6 61 Qd3 Qd6 62 Qd3 Qd6 63 Qd3 Qd6 64 Qd3 Qd6 65 Qd3 Qd6 66 Qd3 Qd6 67 Qd3 Qd6 68 Qd3 Qd6 69 Qd3 Qd6 70 Qd3 Qd6 71 Qd3 Qd6 72 Qd3 Qd6 73 Qd3 Qd6 74 Qd3 Qd6 75 Qd3 Qd6 76 Qd3 Qd6 77 Qd3 Qd6 78 Qd3 Qd6 79 Qd3 Qd6 80 Qd3 Qd6 81 Qd3 Qd6 82 Qd3 Qd6 83 Qd3 Qd6 84 Qd3 Qd6 85 Qd3 Qd6 86 Qd3 Qd6 87 Qd3 Qd6 88 Qd3 Qd6 89 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Cricket First Test: West Indies v England

Pitch stops play after only an hour

Matthew Engel
in Kingston, Jamaica

THE opening Test of England's tour of the West Indies ended in sensational and unparalleled circumstances 68 minutes after it began on Thursday last week when the umpires abandoned the match because the pitch was dangerous.

England were in familiar trouble at 17 for three, and the batsmen had already been hit six times in 10 overs by the West Indian fast bowlers.

However, there was unanimous agreement that this was not the old story of English incompetence and West Indian brilliance. Any incompetence belonged to officials from the Jamaica Cricket Board, who decided to re-lay the whole square at the Sabina Park ground just six months ago, with disastrous results.

The ball kept hitting cracks, and flying in unpredictable directions. Fortunately, physical damage was confined to a few batters. However, the financial loss to the West Indian Cricket Board could run close to \$1.8 million once they have refunded spectators and the broadcasters who paid for rights.

Under the Laws of Cricket, umpires have full jurisdiction over the fitness of the ground. After Alec Stewart had been hit for the third time, Mike Atherton came on to the field, and conferred with the opposing captain Brian Lara, who agreed the pitch was unfit for play.

As discussions continued, the boogie box played a Walters song: "I'm A Cuttin' Your, Don't Touch My Sides, I'm Dangerous." It was obvious that play could not continue, although it took an hour of consultation, involving International Cricket Council officials in London, before the game was officially called off.

That was an easy decision. The problem that remained a residual was what happens next. Both teams are anxious to play a five-Test series, as are the West Indies board, who are already seriously close to bankruptcy.

It was confirmed later that an extra Test would be played in Port of Spain, Trinidad, starting this week, eight days before the scheduled second Test at the same venue.

There was no precedent for the abandonment of the match in 121 years of Test cricket, though a one-day international in India suffered the same fate last year, and there have been other rare cases in first-class cricket. Two years ago, an England tour game in Port of Spain was abandoned.

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Fierce delivery... Atherton evades the first ball. PHOTO: REBECCA NALLEN

African, finished a day early because the dead pitch had made the contest too boring.

The decision to abandon the match was accepted with remarkable calm by the hundreds of English spectators who had flown out, the thousands of Jamaicans on the ground, and the players.

Alec Stewart, who led his team, said simply: "If it had gone on much longer it just looked like a lady who's just opened in a French court."

England have become so obsessed with safety that they decided to stay in Sri Lanka that it should come as no surprise that it has permeated through to their cricket. They ground out 402 in four in 84 overs on the opening day — hardly the stuff of legend.

But the logic of their approach was difficult to challenge. When the defending champion Sri Lanka's path to the final was so close, it seemed only natural that they should be the ones to be puffed and blown away by the wind.

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England A's Sri Lanka tour is cut short

AFTER three weeks of what ineffectively followed by a week of high anxiety, England A finally reached the business part of the tour. Three successful Tests, quickly followed by three one-day internationals, form the truncated itinerary that will see them leave Sri Lanka 10 days earlier than planned.

The revised schedule was agreed in the wake of last month's bomb explosion in Kandy, which has resulted in a second Test being cancelled at Matara in the south. When the England party arrived at their isolated base near Dambulla in the middle of the island, eager to assure families that all was well, they found that a lightning strike had reduced telecom facilities to the bare minimum.

Well, as they say in these parts, "Prasanna" (no worries). The first four-day Test began here last Friday. There are few home comforts on this ground although the backdrop of Elephant Rock is a stunning contrast to the lush green hills, when the sun reaches its peak in the afternoon.

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Tennis Australian Open

Korda serves up the punchline

Stephen Barley in Melbourne

BACK in communist times there was a joke that Czechoslovakia had the largest cow in the world because its head was in Prague and it was milked in Moscow. And in tennis it had the tallest player in the world because its head was in the clouds while its feet were so low in the quagmire.

Czechoslovakia has gone, and so have the jokes at the old Soviet Union's expense, but until last Sunday Korda's name was still prone to the sky dig. He had, after all, a long record of underachievement.

So when he won the Australian Open here, beating a disgraced Marcelo Rios of Chile 6-2, 6-2, 6-2, it was a humbling and a little painful for Korda, and a little painful in that he suspected he might come up some unexpected way of losing.

On this occasion the force was with him from the opening point, Korda won 30 during the tournament, had announced himself as a contender for the title, and was a bit of a hero.

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A victorious Korda throws his racket to the crowd. PHOTO: RICH STEVENS

Rios had break-point, and the Korda contingent could barely watch. If only they could have tapped into his mind they would not have fretted in the least. "I was not a nervous O.K. I missed a couple of shots but that was because of an un-lucky bounce and me wanting to be positive."

What had been somewhat overlooked in the equation was that Korda, eight years younger than Rios, has also been prone to collapse in a heap at critical times.

"I felt tired and I think too many balls," said Korda. "I think your body needs a bit after a semi-final, and then you have to force it." As Rios fought, and missed, so his confidence dwindled. By the third set he appeared to shrink.

Korda believed the key was his serve. Indeed he lost it once, while Rios was able to hold his serve five times out of 10. "I knew I was a better fighter, and I knew he sometimes gives up," said Korda, who at the end of his knees in a position of prayer, raised his arms in triumph.

Later came the Czechoslovakia, a car wheel, and a rush into the crowd to embrace his wife, Regina, and lift his daughter, Jessica. And later still he paid a moving tribute to his father, Petr — "the man who put tennis in my hands."

On Monday Korda woke up \$400,000 richer and ranked No 2 behind Sampras. He also woke up in a Grand Slam winner — at last a true reflection of his talents.

One winner the world may see a little less of this year is Martina Hingis. The 17-year-old Czech-born Swiss, who retained the women's title with a 6-0, 6-3 victory, is Sampras's Czechia Martina Hingis, intends to cut her hair, and spend more time riding her horses.

Last Sunday she flew to Tokyo for the Toray Pan Pacific Open, but after that she will be no more tennis until March when she will compete again at Indian Wells and Key Biscayne.

"I was really tired at the end of last year and played just too much. I always knew that this year the pressure would be greater so I need to regulate the tournaments a little more carefully," Hingis said.

England's women hockey team rounded off a successful tour of Australia by beating the hosts, the women's Olympic champions, 4-2 in the second Test at Perth. The visitors won every one of their matches except the first in which they went down 1-0.

ROBERT HOWLEY has been spotted by the new Wales Rugby Union captain for the game against Italy on February 7. Howley takes over the reins from Gwyn Jones, who has retired from the game after suffering a serious neck and spinal injury. Scotland meanwhile saw top management changes after Richie Dixon resigned as head coach following the defeat by the

Football results and tables

FA CUP PREMIERSHIP									
Arsenal	3	Southampton	0	Nottingham	1	Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0
Blackburn	2	Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0
Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0
Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0

NATIONAL FOOTBALL LEAGUE									
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Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0	Sheff Wed	0
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Division Two									
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Division Three									
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Premier Division									
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Second Division									
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Third Division									
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Fourth Division									
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